OUR MESSAGE

By

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The following speech was delivered at the last Annual General Meeting of Jama'at-e-Islami before the advent of Pakistan on 10th May, 1947 in Darul Islam, the Headquarters of Jama'at near Pathankot (East Punjab).

I would advise you, first of all, to fear Allah, avoid His displeasure and crave for His pleasure. The main target of our struggle is communion with Allah and firm attachment with Him. No body can uphold the word of Allah or stick to the straight path without fear of the displeasure of Allah, keeping strict control on his passions and desires and a deep urge to win the pleasure of Allah behind all his activities.

Nothing but the fear of Allah only can

keep one on the right path. Those, who have not only to keep themselves on the right path but also have to guide those who have gone astray, sorely need to strengthen their relationship with their creator and ever remain conscious of the presence of the all-vigilant Allah, otherwise they are apt to get involved in all sorts of corruption and evils and yet remain under the illusion that they are reformers.

Hence my first and foremost advice, to you and to all others who wish to participate in this movement, is to keep the concept of Allah and His attributes ever fresh in your mind and to concentrate on seeking His pleasure in all of your activities. The movements which have nothing but only the worldly interests before them can afford to work without thinking of Allah for a moment, but this movement cannot proceed even a step further unless its devotees keep communion and close relationship with Allah with all consciousness, fear His wrath and seek His pleasure.

Next, I would like to advise you to observe complete discipline, orderliness, sobriety, calmness, and other etiquettes of Islam in all your social activities and gatherings. You have, no doubt, showed remarkable progress in this respect

during the last few years for which I offer thanks to the Almighty and congratulations to you. It is only by the grace of God and the blessings of His guidance that you have succeeded in this short space of time in regulating your social behaviour in such a disciplined, civilized and sober manner which even in its initial stages prominently marks you out from all other communities in this country. But do not fall a prey to the misunderstanding that you have reached the final stage. You have yet to remove many defects ; to cultivate many social virtues ; and the perfect stage that is your goal is still very far off. The great powers against whom you are pitted in your struggle and who are likely to oppose and thwart you in the achievement of your aims and objects, have in modern times reached the utmost limits of discipline and orderliness. Your standard of discipline and orderliness bears no comparison at all with theirs. If your aim is not merely to change, in a big or small territory, the hands and the machinery that run the administration, but to revolutionise from its roots the very system itself on which the life of mankind is at present being regulated, then you must understand that for the achievement of this object your final and decisive struggle lies not against their Indian followers but the Western leaders. And

the latter have given perfect training to whole communities in the matter of disciplined thought, disciplined work, and disciplined social struggle, the results of which have been observed by the entire world in the last Great War. We need not call in question the nature of this War and the sanctity of its aims and objects ; rather we should consider that the perfection of the standards which these irreligious leaders of the world have attained in the matter of discipline, orderliness, and well-regulated social activity does not permit of any reformed leadership being set up in opposition to itself and successfully established unless and until the latter surpasses them in these qualities and attributes. On a former occasion too a revolution in world leadership was brought about only when the great companions of the Holy Prophet (peace and mercy of Allah be upon him) defeated the irreligious leaders merely by dint of the strength of their faith, the purity of their ideas, aims and objects, and the merits of their moral qualities. And no revolution can be brought about now unless those who desire to bring it about prove themselves to be better than the present administrators of the world in their thoughts, moral qualities and administrative ability.

The third point to which I wish to draw your

attention on this occasion is that you should take as much advantage as you can of the days which you spend in this gathering and should not waste a single moment in other matters. You should be thankful for having had the opportunity of these two or three days in a year and should see that they are utilised for the achievement of your aims and objects. You can find some other time for other pursuits. Although a person who makes our own aim as the aim and object of his life would not like to entangle his mind in other affairs and waste his energy in other irrelevant things even on occasions other than this particular gathering. If any one indulges himself particularly during the few days of this gathering in other affairs obviously proves that he has no real or heartfelt sympathy and regard for our aims and objects. On this occasion all the strength of your community is collected in one place. Friends have gathered here from various places. Many workers, sympathisers and seekers after truth have come. You should not, therefore, let this valuable opportunity slip out of your hands. You should make the acquaintance of companions from far and near, should consult each other, plan your efforts on a co-operative basis, should lend support to the sentiments of sincerity and acti-

vity of your sympathisers, and should make newcomers understand the significance of your message. You should concentrate all your thoughts on what plans can be made for the achievement of our object. You should regard yourself as travelling in the path of God from the time you left your homes till the time of your return, and should devote all your thought and attention during this interval to this message of truth and its implications and nothing else at all.

Next I wish to address a few words to those gentlemen who have come to find out what sort of a gathering this is and what is its aim and object. There may be some among them who know us a little already but there are certainly others who are making their first acquaintance with us on this occasion. Such people can only understand the message fully after studying our literature but I will try to present to them, in a few words and in clear terms, the message of our movement, so that this introduction may help them in the detailed study of our call and message.

The object with which our Jamaat has stood up is to organise a society, in this country to start with and ultimately in the whole world, which would itself observe the true principles of Islam with full consciousness and sincerity ;

which would seek truly to represent Islam before the world by its words and deeds ; and finally whenever it takes root and gathers sufficient strength it would uproot the materialistic foundations of the prevailing system (intellectual, moral, cultural, social, political and economic) and base it on true obedience of God *i.e.* the idea of the unity of God. Our community firmly believes that the principles on which the whole system of life in modern civilization is founded are thoroughly rotten, corrupt and wrong, and that if the world continues to be run on the basis of these principles it will be faced with the most serious consequences. The consequences which have flowed out of it so far are not less serious but they bear no comparison to the seriousness of the ultimate end towards which the modern civilization is taking us all. Further, it is evident that we are not living in a place aloof from and outside this world, but are very much within it and breathing in its midst. Hence, if, knowing full well the corrupt and evil consequences inherent in these rotten principles, we go on leading our lives in a more or less passive manner under this system, and submit ourselves to the Western leaders and Eastern followers of this modern civilisation, then we shall fall into the pit in which the whole world will fall and we

will surely deserve that fate well enough. We are firmly and sincerely convinced that the guidance which God the Almighty has vouchsafed us through His Messengers is the only guarantee of our welfare and that of all mankind. Human life can be kept right and straight only when it is based on the principles which we come across in the guidance given to mankind by their Creator. This knowledge and conviction makes it incumbent on us (and it is a duty which God has laid on all creatures who profess allegiance and render obedience to Him) to struggle against the system and way of life which is based on corrupt and evil principles and to fight for the establishment of that perfect and true way of life which is grounded on principles enunciated by Divine guidance. We should not launch this struggle merely because our feelings of good wishes for the world demand it ; nay, we will not be true or loyal to ouselves if we do not spend our whole life in the struggle. When the entire system of social life is run on corrupt principles ; when false theories and thoughts have overwhelmed the whole world ; when a corrupt system of education, a misleading literature, a rotten and corrupt journalism, and a Satan-inspired wireless and cinema, have appropriated all the universal means of moulding

thought and modelling morality and character ; when an economic system which does not distinguish between lawful (*halal*) and unlawful (*haram*) has taken possession of all the means of livelihood ; when the forces that regulate culture and civilization and keep them on to a certain track are influenced by such laws and such lawmaking machinery based on a completely materialistic conception of morals and culture ; and at a time when the leadership and administration of all communities and groups in this world and the reins of power are in the hands of leaders and rulers who are deviod of the fear of God, are careless and indifferent towards the idea of seeking Divine pleasure and who do not consider it necessary in any matter to try and find out what guidance God has given about it ; then how can we save even ourselves from the evil influence and corrupt consequences of this all-pervasive system ? We too are being driven, along with the rest of the world, towards the hell to which this way of life is leading. If we do not struggle against it and do not concentrate all our efforts on changing it, it will end in spoiling our mundane affairs as well as ruining not only our future generations but the whole world. Hence not merely for the benefit of the world but our own protection it is

incumbent on us (and this is a duty higher than all other duties) that we should try to change this system of life which we look upon with the sincerest of convictions as fatal and corrupt, and should struggle to establish in practice the way of life which we consider and firmly believe to be the true one and the only means of salvation and success.

Our Objective

This brief introduction must have made you understand that our real object is not to change the hands that control the present administration or way of life but to change the system itself. Our efforts are not aimed at keeping this system of life and letting it run on these very principles merely making the small change that the Eastern people run it and not the Western; that the British do not run it but Indians should; and that the Hindus should not run it but Muslims may do so. In our view it makes no difference at all if the hands are changed. Pork remains pork and is treated as a impure and prohibited article of food whether a non-Muslim cooks it or a Muslim does so. Rather if a Muslim cooks it, it is all the more regrettable and misleading. Many people, even fairly pious and virtuous individuals, will easily

swallow pork in the satisfaction that it has been cooked by a Muslim cook. And if in the course of the process of cooking the cook recites the name of God (*bismillah*) with every movement of the spoon and if on the table laid by this cook the Muslim gets more dainty dishes and more freedom and licence than on the one laid by a non-Muslim cook, and if around the eaters are also performed certain rites and ceremonies ordinarily considered to be Islamic rites, all this outward show would not constitute any recommendation for the acceptance and swallowing of this prohibited article of food. Rather these superficial and deceiving devices would make matters worse and more dangerous. Hence, neither can we be satisfied with this outward and superficial change nor can we feel contented if anyone else is satisfied with a corrupt administration in which this rotten system remains intact and only the hands that run it are changed. We fix our eyes not on the hands that run the system but the principles that regulate and underlie it. If these principles are rotten and corrupt we shall continue our struggle against them and try to replace them by true and incorruptible principles.

This in brief is our objective and target.

Three Fundamental Principles

Now I wish you further to understand clearly the principles of modern civilization which we desire to uproot and also the principles which we want to establish in their place.

Modern civilization on which revolves the whole present-day organisation of the world (intellectual, moral, cultural, political and economic) is, in reality, based on three fundamental principles which are :

1. Secularism, that is irreligiousness or worldliness ;
2. Nationalism ; and
3. Democracy.

Secularism

Of these the first principle "secularism" implies that the Divine guidance, the worship of God, and obedience to Him should be confined to the personal life of each individual and except for the small sphere of a person's private life, all the other affairs of this world should be settled purely from the worldly view-point according to our own wishes and expediency. In such matters it is out of question to think of what God may have commanded, what His guidance consists of and what the Divine books may lay

down. This attitude owes its origin to the reaction that set in among the Western peoples as a result of their hatred of the man-made theology of Christian missionaries—a theology which had become a curse for them and which forged their shackles. Gradually, however, this attitude developed into an independent theory of life and then became the foundation-stone of modern civilization.

You must have quite often heard the utterance. "Religion is a private affair between God and man." This brief sentence is in fact the creed of modern civilization. It implies that if a man's conscience bears witness to the fact that there is a God Who should be worshipped, he is welcome to do so in his individual and personal life. But God should have nothing to do with this world and its collective affairs. The system of life built upon the foundation of this creed seeks to free from the influence of God and religion all the relations between man and man and between man and this world. Culture, education, economics, law, parliament, politics, the administration of public affairs and international relations are all to be divested of this influence. Whatever is done in all these numerous aspects of life should be regulated by one's own whims and knowledge. It would be irrele-

vant, nay, wrong in principle and even a sign of the utmost ignorance, to say that God has prescribed certain principles and laid down some commandments, for us for the regulation of such matters.

Due to education being divested of religion and the prevalence of irreligious nationalism, education among most people even in individual life is merely secular education and it is developing further on these lines. This is because there are very few men left who conscientiously believe that there is God and that we should worship Him. In particular with men who are actually the *de facto* leaders of modern civilization, religion is not even a private affair ; even their personal relations with God are snapped and torn asunder.

Nationalism

The second principle, *viz*. nationalism, owes its origin to a reaction against the universal oppression of the Popes and Caesars. It merely aims at making the various nationalities completely free to exercise their mastery over their own political and other affairs and not merely acting like puppets in the hands of any spiritual or political power of a universal character. From this innocent and small beginning the idea

developed and reached a stage where it placed nationalism on the throne of God Who had already been ejected from His position under the impact of secularism. For every nation the highest moral standards and values have now become synonymous with its own national interests and aspirations. Virtue consists in what is advantageous to the nation, be it falsehood, faithlessness or disbelief, oppression or any other act which may have been looked upon as the worst sin in the eyes of the old type of religion; and evil is said to be what is injurious to the national interests, be they truth, justice, rights and obligations or anything else which may hitherto have been considered a moral virtue.

The measure of virtue and standard of life and conscientiousness of individuals in a nation is now merely this; that they should not fall short of any sacrifice in the interests of their nation and should give up their lives, wealth, time, and even their morality, humanity, virtue and nobility of spirit. They are not expected to desist from these "sacrifices" and should devote themselves whole-heartedly in an organized and unified manner to fulfil their national aspirations. The aim and object of all collective effort now lies in every nation producing such individuals in greater abundance and in organiz-

ing and uniting them so that they may raise the standard of their own nation as against that of the other nations.

Democracy

The third principle, democracy or sovereignty of the people, was originally put forward to loosen the oppressive grip of monarchs and feudal landlords over the masses. To the extent to which it sought to expound the idea that no individual, family, or class, has any right to force its will on millions of other peoples and use them for their own selfish ends it was perfectly correct and laudable. But with this negative aspect it implied a positive aspect also in that the people of each country and territory are their own masters and rulers. This positive aspect later on developed into democracy, which meant that every nation is entirely independent in its will and actions. There is nothing to restrict its collective desire, or in practice, the desires and aspirations of its majority. Whether it be in the sphere of morals, culture, social relations, or politics, only such principles are to be deemed right and correct as are accepted as such by the unanimous will of the nation and those principles which are voted down by the nation as wrong must be looked upon as such. The making of aws depends on the sweet will of a nation. It

may make any laws, break any laws or modify and change any laws. Government should be carried on in accordance with the wishes of the nation, should abide by its vote, and should spend all its energies in fulfilling the aspirations of the nation.

Critical Appreciation

These three principles, which I have briefly explained, are the corner-stone of the way of life evolved in modern times. On their foundation is built that "secular democratic state" which is looked upon as highest standard, and the most civilized form of modern collective organization.

Root Cause of Calamities

In our opinion all the three principles are wrong. Not merely wrong, rather we believe, with full confidence and certainty, that they are indeed the roct cause of all those calamities and troubles in which humanity is involved to-day. As a matter of fact we are opposed to these principles and wish to fight against them with all our strength. It requires a lengthy discussion to explain in detail the grounds of our objections to these principles but I will try to convey the gist to you in a few words so that you may be able to understand the significance of our fight

against these principles and may be enabled to assess why this matter is one of such grave importance as to compel us to struggle against these principles and work for their elimination and overthrow.

Irreligiousness

Let us take first of all the irreligiousness or worldliness which is the first and foremost foundation-stone of this way of life. The theory that God and religion are concerned only with the individual life of a man is completely meaningless, having nothing to do with reason and argument. It is perfectly obvious that the relations of man and God cannot lie beyond either of two alternatives. Either God is the Creator of man and the world in which he lives, as well as being its Master and Sovereign, or He is not so. If He is neither the Creator nor the Master, nor again the Sovereign then it is entirely unnecessary to have even any private relations with Him. It is utterly absurd to worship a Being entirely unconcerned and having nothing to do with us. But if He is in reality our Creator, Master, and Sovereign, and so also of this universe, then it is equally meaningless that His jurisdiction should be limited to the private life of an individual and from the very point from which the contact of one person with another

commences His jurisdiction should cease and come to an end.

If this limitation has been imposed by God Himself then there should be some authority for it ; but if man has assumed this independence himself and discarded God from his collective life, then this constitutes an open rebellion against his Creator, Master and Sovereign. And only a lunatic can claim to combine with this rebellious attitude the claim that he accepts God, His religion, guidance and directions in his individual life. There can be nothing more absurd than that each person should claim individually to be the servant and slave of God but when these separate individuals collectively form themselves into a society, they should cease to be servants of the Almighty God ; that each component in a society should constitute God's servant but the composite whole of these parts should not be His servants. Surely it is a proposition which a mad cap alone can conceive of. Again, it passes our understanding completely that if we do not need God and His guidance and direction in our family affairs, in the affairs of our town and city, in our schools and colleges, in our bazars and markets, in our parliaments and government houses, in our high courts and secretariat offices, in our cantonments

and police lines, and in our battle-fields and peace conferences, then what is other sphere of life left in which He should be needed at all? Why should such a God be accepted and believed in or worshipped who is either so useless that He does not give us any guidance in the affairs of our life or (I seek the refuge of God in saying so) that He is so foolish that none of His directions to regulate our affairs appears to us to be resonable or practicable? So much for the intellectual side of this question. But when we look at it from the practical view-point the consequences are extremely serious. The fact of the matter is that whichever aspect of a man's life is divested of relationship with God, will be contacted by the Devil himself. Truly speaking, the private life of an individual is nothing but a mere name. Man is social being and his whole life is in fact collective and social. To start with, he is born as a result of the social contact of a mother and a father. On coming into this world he opens his eyes in a family and as soon as he comes of age he comes in contact with society, a brotherhood, a township, a nation, a cultural system, a social system, an economic system, and a political system. All these numerous contacts which bind him to others and the other people to him, on the rectitude of them

all indeed depends the welfare and success of each individual and all the human beings as a whole. And it is God alone Who is capable of vouchsafing to man stable, enduring, equitable, and correct principles, and to prescribe proper limits for the regulation of human contacts. Whenever a man acts independently of the Divine guidance, nothing is left of the permanent and firm principles of truth and justice. This is because after depriving himself of God's guidance no other source is left to seek guidance from, except man's own passions, imperfect knowledge, and experience. That is why in a society, based on the secular system, or irreligiousness, principles are made and unmade every now and then due to the shifting passions of the people. You can see how in every aspect of human relations have entered the evils of injustice, oppression, faithlessness, unbelief and lack of mutual confidence. Individual, class, tribal and racial selfishness has overshadowed all human affairs. Starting with the relations between any two persons and right up to the relation between nations there is no aspect which is intact and free from evil and crookedness. Every individual, group, class, nation and country, within its own sphere of jurisdiction, has, wherever possible, evolved laws, principles and regula-

tions to secure, with complete selfishness, its own particular ends and objectives, and none of them cares in the least what effect or influence this will have on other individuals, groups, classes and nations. The only thing for which they care is power and force. Whenever and wherever there is the fear of force they squeeze in their hands and feet which are otherwise spread out beyond all limits. But it is obvious that force is not a conscious and equitable thing. It is nothing more than blind power ; hence it has never been able to bring about a proper balance and equilibrium in human affairs. Whoever possesses greater force does not merely squeeze others to the extent desirable but thinks more and more about expanding himself. Hence irreligiousness or secularism implies nothing more than this : that whoever adopts it as his creed and attitude in life will reduce himself to an irresponsible and unbridled servant of his own self, be it an individual, a group, a country, a nation or a group of nations.

National Selfishness

Let us take up the second principle now. I have just explained the implications of nationalism to you. If it is still fresh in your mind you can imagine what a curse it is which has overtaken mankind in this age. We do not object to

"nationality" which is a natural fact and reality. We do not oppose national partriotism providing it does not comprise within itself ill-will towards other nations. We do not object to national love either, provided it does not involve and lead to national prejudice, an unreasonable favouritism towards one's own nation, and hatred of other nations. We regard national freedom as right and proper as it is the birthright of every nation to regulate its own business and look after its own domestic affairs. The rule of one nation over another is wrong and incorrect. What is, however, objectionable, nay even hateful, is "nationalism." This nationalism has no reality except that it is another name for national selfishness. If the existence of an individual in a society, who is the slave of his own self and passions and is ready to do anything for his selfish interests, is a curse; if in a town it is a curse to have a family whose members blindly follow their selfish family interests and are bent on helping only themselves and this by all fair or foul means; if again, in a country that class is a curse which blindly pursues its own class interests and ends without caring for their good or bad consequences to others (*e.g.* the black-marketers); then why should not, in the wider sphere of humanity, that nation be treated and

looked upon as a curse which deifies its national interests and admires the principle that "right is that which conforms to our national interests and wrong that which does not conform to them?" Verily your conscience will bear witness to the fact that like other selfish desires and objects, this particular selfishness and slavish pursuit of one's own gains and interests is also truly a curse. But you can look around you and see that the modern civilization has involved all nations in this curse and is responsible for converting the whole world into national wrestling arenas and battlefields in which each wrestler is opposed to the other and hates him, and though the perspiration resulting from two universal wrestling bouts has not yet dried up, preparations are now being openly made for a third one—the impending World War No. III.

Sovereignty of People

The third principle, when combined with the other two principles, completes our misfortune and misery. As I have just explained, democracy in modern civilization means the sovereignty of the people : that is to say, the collective will of a group of people in a particular territory being completely independent and free therein, the laws being subject to their wishes and not their wishes to the laws, and the sole aim and

object of government consisting in, and its power of organization being used for, the fulfilment of the collective desires of the masses. Now work that in the first place secularism released people from the fear of God and the grip of stable and enduring moral values and made them unbridled and irresponsible slaves of their self; then nationalism intoxicated them with the wine of national selfishness, blind prejudices, and national pride; and then this democracy, on top of all, completed the picture, and conferred full powers of legislation on these unbridled and intoxicated slaves of their own self. It seeks to prescribe that the sole object of a government is that its power be utilised for the attainment of things which people collectively desire. The question that forces itself on us, then, is how on earth does such an independent sovereign nation differ in this condition from a strong, free, and independent individual who is a rogue and "badmash"? Whatever an individual knave will do on a small scale when he is entrusted with freedom, independence and power, exactly the same feat, but on a very much bigger scale, will be performed by a whole nation when it is endowed with such powers. And when in this world there be not one nation like this but all the civilized nations are organized in this manner on

principles of secularism, democracy and nationalism, then how can the world escape becoming a battle-ground for these wolves of the human race ?

These are the grounds which compel us to regard every social system which is based on these three principles as wrong and harmful. We are opposed to the "secular, national, democratic" system irrespective of whether those who establish and run it are Westerners or Easterners ; whether they are so-called Muslims or Non-Muslims. On whichever country or nation this curse falls we will warn all God's creatures living therein to beware of it and avoid it scrupulously.

The Alternative

As against these three principles we put forward another three principles, and appeal to the conscience of all men to observe and test them for themselves and see whether their own happiness and welfare and that of the whole world depends on accepting these truthful and sacred doctrines or the other wrong principles.

(*a*) As against secularism is the principle of submission and obedience [illegible] God ;

(*b*) as opposed to nationalism is humanism ; and

(*c*) as against democracy or sovereignty of the masses is the sovereignty of God and the vicegerency (*khilafat*) of the people.

Sovereignty of God

The first principle implies that all of us accept God as our Creator, Master and Sovereign as well as of this universe. We seek to regulate our life according to His commandements and to follow His guidance, and not pose as if we be independent of Him and care not for Him. We should not merely offer *pujah* (ceremonial rites) to Him but also obey Him and submit ourselves to Him. We should not merely observe His commands and directions as individuals in our private capacity but should do so in every aspect of our social and collective life too. In the sphere of our social, cultural and economic life, in our educational and training institutions, in framing our laws, setting up our judicial courts, running our government, in making war or peace, and in our international relations, we should observe the principles and restrictions laid down by God. We should not be absolutely free to regulate our secular and mundane affairs in whatever way we like ; this freedom should be observed within the limits prescribed by the checks and balances imposed by God. These principles and limitations must, in any event, be

regarded as beyond our jurisdiction to challenge, modify or change,

Ideological System

The second principle implies that the system of life which is built upon submission to God's will and obedience to Him should have nothing to do with, nor secure any place within itself for, the distinctions of nation, race, country, colour, or language; and in no way should it tolerate the pride, prejudice, and selfishness arising from them. Instead of a national system it should be an ideological system based on certain fixed principles and stable values. Its doors should be open to anyone who accepts these fundamental principles, and whoever accepts them should be able to participate in the organisation on a footing of absolute equality of rights without any invidious distinctions. Under such a system citizenship should not be confined within the geographical boundaries of a state but should be common and based on ideological foundations. Individuals who are not satisfied with these principles or are not prepared to accept them for one reason or other should in no way be suppressed or oppressed; nor should any attempts be made to wipe them out, or merge and absorb them by force. Rather

they should be able to live under its protection, enjoying well-defined and inalienable rights, it being open to them when they are convinced at any time in future of the rectitude of these principles to become members of this system of their own free will and thus secure for themselves equal rights with others. This principle of humanism does not negative the idea of nationalism but seeks to keep it within its natural limits. There is a place in it for national love and patriotism but none for national prejudice. National goodwill is legal (*halal*) but national selfishness is illegal (*haram*); national freedom is permissible but domination and selfish exploitation of one nation by another is banned. Nor is any such national freedom permitted as would divide humanity within insurmountable boundaries. The principle of humanism demands that although every nation should regulate its own affairs, no single nation should, as a nation, be under the sway of another nation, and all nationalities which agree on the fundamental principle of human civilization should fully co-operate among themselves in matters concerning human welfare and happiness. Instead of competition there should be co-operation. There should be no mutual distinctions, prejudices, or divisions. There

should be free exchange of cultural ideas and means of livelihood. Every individual who lives under such a cultural system should be a citizen of the world and not merely belong to one country or nation so that he may be in a position to exclaim: "We look upon every country as our own as it belongs to our God." The present state of affairs is abominable in which an individual can neither be loyal to anyone but his own nation and country nor can any nation rely on persons belonging to another nation. As soon as a person moves out of the boundaries of his own country he feels as if God's earth is everywhere full of restrictions and obstructions for him. Everywhere he is regarded with suspicion and distrust as if he were a thief or a knave. Everywhere there are interrogations, searches, and harassing restrictions on his pen, his tongue, and his movements, and nowhere does he enjoy freedom or any real rights. We wish in place of all this a universal organization in which the unity of principles should form the basis of a federation between nations and wherein equal and common citizenship and absolutely free and unrestricted communications should be allowed. Our eyes wish to see again how a modern Ibn Batuta can go about from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific

and not be treated as an alien anywhere ; rather opportunities are open to him everywhere of becoming a judge, a magistrate, a minister, or an ambassador.

Vicegerency

Let us take up the third principle now. We believe in the vicegerency (*khilafat*) of the people instead of their sovereignty. We are as much opposed, as the biggest democrat can be, to personal monarchy, the power of the rich feudal lords, and the class monopolies. We insist as much as the greatest protagonist of Western democracy does on equal rights and free and equal opportunities for every person in a social order. We also believe that governmental administration and the election of rulers should be made with the free consent and votes of all inhabitants. We too are strongly opposed to a social system in which there is no freedom of expression of opinion, of assembly and of action, or in which there may be special rights reserved for certain people on grounds of race, birth or class and special disabilities imposed on others on this very basis. There are no differences between the Western democracy and our own type of democracy in these matters which form the very essence, as it were, of true democracy. There is nothing in this respect which we may have to learn from

the West. The Muslims know this democracy very well and gave a practical illustration of it long centuries before the birth of Western democracy. When we differ, and differ violently, from this new-fangled democracy is that it puts forward the principle of unrestricted sovereignty of the masses while we consider it wrong from the view-point of reality and disastrous from the aspect of its consequences. The fact of the matter is that the right of sovereignty vests in Him Who created mankind, arranges their sustenance and development, on Whom depends the very existence of humanity and the whole world, and in Whose firm grip lies every single thing that exists in the universe. Any claim to sovereignty whether of a person or a family, of a nation, or the masses as a whole, within the sphere of His real and factual sovereignty, is nothing more than a myth and a misconception. And the evil consequences of this misunderstanding will fall not on the real sovereign of the universe but on the foolish claimant who does not realise his own place and position. In the face of this reality the only attitude which is correct in principle and correct from the view-point of consequential welfare of man is to accept God as his sovereign and evolve a system of government for human life on the basis of the theory of His *khilafat* and representa-

tive charater. This *khilafat* should doubtless be democratic; the election of the Amir as the administrator should be made by the franchise of the masses; the members of the assembly should be elected by votes; all governmental matters should be administered with their advice; they should have the fullest right to criticise and call them to account. But all this should be done with the consciousness and feeling that God is the Sovereign and not the people. We are His vicegerents only and have to render an account of every action to Him Who is our real master. Moreover, the moral principles and legal commandments and restrictions must be regarded as inviolable and occupy the place God has assigned to them in our lives. The fundamental principle should be that we cannot legislate in matters in which God has given us clear guidance while in matters in which He has not done so we must appreciate that He himself has delegated freedom of action to us so that in these matters we may legislate by mutual consultation. Again, these latter laws too must conform, in spirit and meaning, to the pattern which the prescribed principles of divine guidance has laid down for us. Then, again, it is essential that the administration and management of the political and cultural system should be in the

hands of people who fear God, who render obedience to Him, who seek His will and pleasure in everything ; whose lives bear witness to their faith in accountability to God and presentation to Him on the Day of Judgement, whose private as well as public life gives ample proof that they are not like an unbridled horse running about in every field and overstepping all hurdles and limits ; rather they are tied to the divine system and pinned down to the obedience of God, and their movements are confined to the limits which the divine rope permits them.

Choice is Yours

Gentlemen,—The three principles which I have propounded before you aim at establishing a democratic and human caliphate subservient to God as against the national-secular-democratic sovereignty evolved by modern civilization, and our object is the establishment of this caliphate. You can at a glance see that there are obvious differences between the two systems. It now rests with you conscientiously to decide which one of them is better, in which one can solve the problems of mankind, which one would you be desirous of establishing, and how your energies should be directed and spent in establishing and maintaining the one you choose.

Beware !

In so far as the Muslims are concerned I must say very clearly that modern secular national democracy is utterly against their faith and religion. If they bow to it and accept it they will be turning their backs on the Holy Quran. If they take part in its establishment and maintenance it will constitute an open rebellion against the Holy Prophet. And if they stand up to raise its standard they will only be raising the standard of revolt against their Lord God. The spirit of Islam, which you profess to believe and from which you derive the name Muslim, is in conflict with the spirit of this dirty and rotten system ; its fundamental principles are at loggerheads with the fundamental principles of the other system ; and every part of the one is opposed to every part of the other. Islam and this system cannot meet for compromise at any stage. Wherever system is on top or in vogue, Islam departs and is nowhere ; and wherever Islam reigns supreme, this system can have no place. If you really believe in Islam, which is the message of the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet, then it is your duty to oppose this national-secular-democracy. Wherever you may happen to be, you should struggle for the establishment in its place of Godwor-

shipping caliphate of the masses. More particularly, whenever and wherever you are in power and set up and administer this system instead of the real Islam, then woe betide you and your false professions of Islam in proclaiming allegiance to which you are so loud and in working for which you are so low and lazy.

A Few Words to Muslims

In passing I wish to address a few words to my Muslim brethren. Some religious-robed are involving you in a misunderstanding, and are perhaps themselves too suffering from the delusion that sovereignty is a blessing with which God rewards men for offering prayers and doing good deeds but that to strive for its achievement is mere worldliness and to make it an ideal is contrary to Islam. Those who talk in this strain have never cared to understand the matter. Let them not be displeased when I go further and say that they do wish to do so at all for this will lead to deprivation of the pleasures which they enjoy now under the existing system or are looking forward to secure them sometime or other. These people look at the matter purely from the point of view of a reward and remuneration, and ignore altogether the aspect of duty and obligation. I submit that the establishment of this caliphate is doubtless a blessing

and reward but struggling and striving for its establishment is a duty and obligation all the same, so that we must try in place of a Satanic *khilafat* to establish the true system in which evils are suppressed and virtues are developed. You are avoiding your duties and obligations and hoping for a reward. If you choose to do so you are welcome to feel satisfied with such an absurdity.

To the Non-Muslims

As regards the Non-Muslims I beseech them in all sincerity that in considering these principles they should rid themselves of the prejudices which have unfortunately resulted from past history and the present mutual national struggle. These ideologies and principles are not the inheritance of any one nation nor are they labelled with nationalism. If they are true and beneficial they are so for all men, and if they are wrong they are wrong for everyone irrespective of the person who puts them forward or the language in which they are put forth. In other spheres like the laws of health and hygiene, the principles of medical science, the rules of business, industry, trade and agriculture, the laws of science and other branches of knowledge, the question does not arise at all that they belong to a particular country or a parti-

cular class of people so that people of other classes or communities should be prejudicially inclined to them. If you adopt a prejudicial attitude in accepting a correct principle you will injure no one except yourself. Exactly the same holds good in the matter of principles of human morality, culture, society, civilization, economics and politics. These too are, truly speaking, un-national and un-racial realities. They should also be accepted or discarded on their merits. If you accept the correct principles you will not be obliging anyone; if you follow wrong principles you will injure your own interests and no one else.

Indeed you have not adopted a prejudicial attitude in the matter of other ideologies and principles. Secularism, nationalism, and Western democracy have all come to you from those Englishmen who ruled over you in an oppressive manner for nearly two hundred years and against whom you have been fighting the battle of freedom during the last forty or fifty years. Then why did you not adopt a partial attitude in accepting the principles brought by these enemies of yours. Socialism and Communism, towards which many of you feel attracted, is the result of a German Jew's mind and has been developed in Russia. How are you

related to these nations? Why did you not regard these ideologies as foreign? If you can cast aside your prejudice and look at these principles and ideologies as nothing but mere ideologies and principles, then there is no reason why in considering the ideology (Islamic) which we present to you, your vision should be blurred by the idea that it is presented to you by men who belong to a community against whose co-religionists you have got some historical grievance or with whom you are at loggerheads nowadays.

We are criticising with reasons and arguments the other ideologies and principles which according to us are ruinous of humanity and in their place we put forward ideologies that we consider to be good for us, for yourselves, and the whole of mankind. You should be gracious enough to see with an open mind whether your own welfare lies in accepting these principles. Observe and test for yourself whether God's worship and subservience and obedience to Him is better or secularism; whether nationalism is good or humanism; whether the unbridled sovereignty of the masses is good or the vicegerency (*khilafat*) of the masses under the sovereignty of God; whether it is good that the reins of power and administration of human affairs

should be in the hands of men devoid of the fear of God or men who are inspired by His awe and majesty. If you reach the conclusion that what we are presenting to you is truer and better in its results then you will be doing good to yourselves and none else in accepting it.

One Practical Question

And now remains only one practical question which needs an answer and that is this : wherefrom shall we seek guidance and instructions to run this God-worshipping system? Where is the divine law and constitution on which we should raise the foundations of our state? *Prima facie* this is a very complicated question, for while people agree with the simple idea of the sovereignty of God, or Ram Raja, or kingdom of God, they cannot so easily and readily agree on accepting a particular law and constitution as divine. But this complication is not so insuperable as not to be solved or removed in any manner.

It is almost settled now that our country will be divided and partitioned. A portion of it will be handed over to Muslim majority, and the other will be dominated by a non-Muslim majority. In the first region we will try to awaken and guide the popular will to base the

foundations of our state on the law and constitution which we Muslims consider to be divine. Our non-Muslim brethren should, instead of opposing this ideal of ours, allow us the opportunity to work it and see for themselves how far in contradistinction to a secular, irreligious, national democracy, this God-worshipping democratic caliphate, founded on the guidance vouchsafed to us through Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) proves a blessing for the inhabitants of Pakistan and to what extent for the whole world. In the other part of the country you will be in a majority and we in a minority. We suggest to you for that part not to imitate, for God's sake, the ideologies of the nations of the world which have erred and gone astray and due to which they are ruining themselves and the whole world. Instead of these please accept the three principles which the noble servants of God have been preaching in every age and which were put forth by your own ancestors as well as our own. And then look round and examine the teachings of your ancestors whether for running a state—a modern and a progressive state—you can find any detailed guidance in accordance with these principles. Take stock of the teachings of Ramachandra, Krishna, Lord Buddha, Guru Nanak

and other 'rishis' and religious personalities, examine the character of these teachings and decide for your-selves, after searching through the vedas, purans, shastras and granths. If you find any guidance in them we will ask you to base the system of government in India on that very guidance and treat us in the manner which is sanctioned by your religion. We will not oppose that system. We will afford it the fullest opportunity to work and will examine without prejudice how far the practical interpretation of God-worshipping humanism and God-worshipping democracy is a blessing for the good of India and the whole world. But if you do not find any detailed guidance in your own books it does not mean that God never sent it to you. It only means that you have lost it or a good part of it during the convulsions and revolutions that occurred in your long and chequered history. We present to you the same thing sent by the same God the Almighty. Do not look upon it as a strange thing; it is your own lost property which has been restored to you by another means. Try to identify it ; test and observe it, practise and experience it, and then see for yourselves whether it proves a blessing to you and the whole world.

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